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Modern Philology

VOLUME XIII

November 1915

NUMBER 7

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE SPANISH GRAIL FRAGMENTS

I

My object in this chapter is to record several non-Castilian elements contained in the language of the Grail portions (G) of Ms. 2-G-5 in the Palace Library at Madrid. I include some similar elements contained in the language of *La Demanda del Sancto Grial*, 1535 (D). Both texts, as I have shown in *Modern Philology* 11, 1, go back to a common source (O). As scribes and redactors have continuously endeavored to Castilianize G and D, the non-Castilian elements still found in G and D are not due to them but belong to O. The date which I assign to O is the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

1. Pretonic *e* instead of *i*: G 254¹ *presion*. 255 *feniestra*. 256 *deziendo*. 267 *equal*. 271 *serviente*. 275^v *esquierdo*, etc. Cf. § 13a and b.

The lack of umlaut would suggest that these forms are OLeonese, cf. Hanssen, Gram. hist. § 74.² They are found also in a group of texts that have other Leonese and Portuguese-Galician characteristics in common with our texts. I refer to Alexandre (Janer),

¹ = f. 254 of Ms. 2-G-5. *El Libro de Josep Abarimatia* comprises f. 25[2]-f. 282, *La Estoria de Merlin* f. 282^v-f. 296, *Langarote* f. 298^v-f. 300^v.

² According to Hanssen, such forms as *presion* abound in Leon and Navarra. Wherever we are dealing with a form that may be western or eastern, I shall put it down as western. For we shall soon observe forms that are western only.

Alfonso XI (Janer),¹ and Ms. h-I-13 of the Escorial.² The cases are: *presion* SENperatriz 519, 62. *feniestras* Alex. 1103, 1384; Rrey Guillelme 181, 182. *deziendo* Alex. 527a.d, 2193; Rrey Guillelme 245; Alfonso XI 494, 1139. *egual* Alex. 735, 1831 (P 1973 *eguales*); Alfonso XI 10. *servientes* SCatalina 274, 301; Placiditas 133, 150; Rrey Guillelme 220, 229; Alfonso XI 1102, 1897. *esquierda* Alfonso XI 1316, 1331.

2. Pretonic *o* instead of *u*: G 290^v *mogieres*.

Pretonic *o* (before palatal) remains in OPortuguese (*molher*), OGalician (*moller*) and OLeonese. Cf. *moyer* FJuzgo 45 VL 10 B.R. 2.³ *moyeres* FJuzgo 4 VL 32 B.R. 2. *mojer* Staaff, Dial. león. 122 (1262—twice). *mogier* Alex. 386; FJuzgo XIV VL 5 Esc. 3; 196 VL 4 Esc. 3; Staaff 82, 6 (1260). *mogieres* Alex. 822; FJuzgo 4 VL 32 Esc. 3; 201 VL 1 Esc. 3; Josaphat (Lauchert)⁴ 370. *moger* FJuzgo 45 VL 10 B.R. 3;⁵ 55 VL 9 B.R. 3; 196 VL 4 Esc. 3; Elena 210; Josaphat 354 (cf. note); 373; 376; 378; 379. *mogeres* FJuzgo 196 VL 4 Esc. 3; Josaphat 369; 375; 376; 378. *moguer* Elena 260.

3. Atonic *-es* instead of *-as*: G 279 *E* [si] *queria* (sc. Josafas) *dezir que el padre era perfecto Dios e entrego, pues non podrian nada las personas del fijo nin del spiritu sancto. Sy avyan ames cada uno su deydad, pues seryan tres deydades.* (K⁶ 94 *Et se il voloit dire ke li peres fust entiers diex & parfais, dont n'i prendroit noient la persone du fil & du sains esperit. Et se eles auoient ambedeus cascune sa deite enterine, dont serroient chou trois deites.*) 281^v *E cuydavan que eras mas fidalgo que tu non eras, porque eres feroso fieramente.* (S⁷ 1, 47, 27 *car tu estoies tant biaux que trop.*)

¹ To these poetical works belongs also *Elena*, cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Rev. fil. esp.* 1, 92.

² The following parts of this Ms. have been printed: SMaria Egipciaca (Knust), SCatalina (Knust), Placiditas (Knust), Rrey Guillelme (Knust), Florencia (Ríos), SENperatriz (Mussafla), Carlos Maynes (Bonilla).

All these works were translated from French about the first quarter of the fourteenth century; the Ms. dates from the same century; cf. Baist, *Span. Litt.* 416.

³ Cf. Hanssen, *Conj. león.* 8: "El testo leonés [del Fuero Juzgo] se ha conservado particularmente en tres manuscritos de la Biblioteca Real (B.R. 1, B.R. 2, B.R. 3)."

⁴ The text is full of decidedly western characteristics; the Ms. is of the fifteenth century.

⁵ See note 3.

⁶ = Kempe, *The Legend of the Holy Grail*, 1905 (EETS). The French Ms. published there is part of Ms. Bibl. Reg. XIV E 3 in the British Museum.

⁷ = Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, 1909-13. 6 v.

The phenomenon is OLeonese, cf. Elena p. 81 § 10. I add FJuzgo 24 VL 30 S.B. *bueltes*; SCatalina 236 *desvariades*¹ *bores*.

In the first example, the translator, bearing in mind *las personas*, probably wrote *ames cada una*. *ames* is partly OCastilian (*am-*) and partly OLeonese (*-es*), the strict OLeonese form being *ambes*. But the use of such a hybrid form is quite natural in the case of a Leonese translator. *ames* was overlooked by a Castilian scribe, who, however, changed *una* to *uno*.

In the second example the translator may have written *yeres* or *eres*.²

4. Cons.+*r* instead of cons.+*l*: G 259^v *fabra*. 266^v *proguyese*; 282^v *progo*. 269^v *conprio* [l. *conprie*]; 277 *conprio*; 276^v *conpremiendo* (K 88 *satisfasions*). 273 *prata*. 274 *brago*; 276. 290^v *afroxaron*. 294^v *Brage*. 298^v *senbrante*.

OLeonese forms, cf. Staaff 240. Other cases of *fabrar*: Elena p. 81 § 8, etc. Of *prazer*: Alex. 1913; 2029; 2088, etc.; SMaria Eg. 340; Rrey Guillelme 213; Florencia 444, etc. Of *conprir*: Alex. 5; 1462; 1641, etc. . . . Of *afroxar*: Lucas Fernandez 121 . . .

5. *r-r* instead of *r-l*: G 267 *arbor*, 268 (twice). 267^v *arbores* (twice), 268 (twice).

OPortuguese-Galician *arvor*. OLeonese: *aruores* Staaff 140, 7 (1246) etc. (cf. Staaff 251); SMaria Eg. 330; Rrey Guillelme 183; JRuiz (S)³ 1291, 1292 (G T *r-l*), etc. Similarly *carcer*, *carceres*; *marmor*, *mármares*.

6. Prosthetic *v*: G 259^v *vueste*, 281.

OLeonese, cf. ZrP 34, 646.

7. *-s* (of verbal inflection)+*l-* (of pers. pron.)>*l*: G 262 *conviēete* . . . *dexar tus ymagines que dizes e que tu crees que son dios e demandales consejo*. D 143a *E quando vistes que no queria yr con vos, tomastesle el galgo, que era todo blanco, y leuastesgelo, e dexistete que lo guardariades* . . .

According to Cornu § 312 the phenomenon is especially frequent

¹ Thus the Ms.; Knust reads *destariadas*.

² In a Ms. otherwise strictly Castilian, *ames* for *amas* and *eres* for *eras* would be scribal errors. Considering, however, that our Ms. has undoubted western characteristics, and further that *ames* and *eres* can be justified as western forms, I have admitted them as such. I shall do likewise in other similar cases.

³ On "leonesismos" of Ms. S, s. *Rom.* 30, 435.

in OPortuguese, less so in OGalician. For OLeonese, s. Staaff 255 and 259.

8. *arbor* f.: G 267^v *venieron a los que fincaron so el arbor que avya la corteza negra. E començaronla a tajar toda enderredor. E despues que esto ovieron fecho, non quedaron aun. ante le quebrantaron las rramas que tenia. E pues la ovieron asi ferida e quebrantada e llagada, salio ende un rrio . . . E levol* (sc. el rrey . . . al rrepostero) *a los tres arbores por catar por ver de qual guysa eran. E entonçe conosco bien que eran tres e que la mediana que avia fea la corteza [nascia] de la primera. E (de) la tercera nascia de la una e de la otra. E el rrey los cato contra suso e vido que avya en cadauno de los arbores letras de oro e de azul e de bermejo. E dezian las letras asy de la primera: Esta forma. E las otras dezian: Esta salva. E las otras: [Esta] alinpia(n).*

OGalician *aruor* occurs as f. in Martínez Salazar, Doc. gall. 44, 8 (1259) *doutras aruores*; 113, 16 (1348) *hũa aruor*; 115, 11 (1354) *das aruores*. Likewise OLeonese *arbol* f., cf. Mod. Lang. Not. 27, 168b. I add Alex. 2323 *las aruoles*; FJuzgo 137a; CMaynes 507a *vna arbol*.

9. *lle, lla*, pron., instead of *le, la*: G 255 *si sabia alguna cosa que lle podiese fazer pro. 255^v nunca vy enfermo a que lla* (sc. la tovaja) *posiese que non fuese guarido.*

OLeonese forms, cf. Staaff 266. To judge from Staaff, the palatal form of the acc. is not so rare as Menéndez Pidal, *Dial. leon.* 49, believes.

10. a) *ela, elos, elas*, art. and demonst. pron., instead of *la, los, las*: G 254 *todas elas gentes. 254^v servir ela yglesya. 256 todas elas¹ otras gentes. 258^v ⁊ elos paganos. 259^v elos² otros. 262^v ⁊ ela donzella. 263^v tolere elos ombres . . . todas elas cosas. 275^v conplir elas obras. 280 en tal manera que elos que alli estaban . . . 282 todos elos pensamientos. 282^v sañudos fueron elos diablos. 287 ⁊ ela otra. 288 por ela saña. 290 todas elas³ cosas . . . ⁊ ela madre. 290^v ⁊ elas mogières. 293^v ⁊ (l. de) elas cosas. 299 çedo averedes (⁊) ela puerta abierta. 299^v ⁊ elos otros.*

OLeonese, cf. Staaff 262. As Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. hist.*² § 100, 2, observes, this form of the article was lost early in Castile, but still used in Leon in the fourteenth century.

¹ Corrected in Ms. for ⁊ las; cf. Elena p. 81 § 9.

² Ms. *et los*.

³ Ms. ⁊ las.

b) *lla*, art., instead of *la*: G 299^v *De como lievan a lla rreyna a quemar*.

OPortuguese instances of the palatal form are given by Gessner, *Das Altleonesische* 17. OGalician: Martínez Salazar 105, 15 (1324) *per llas sentenzas*. 17 *sobre llo dito señorio*. 126, 6 (1394) *porlla mja alma*. 11 *todas llas partes*. 127, 2 *porllo amor*. 129, 18 (1415) *sobre llo adeante declarado*. 130, 18 and 23 *todas llas outras herdades*. OLeonese: Menéndez Pidal, *Dial. leon.* 50.

11. a) Personal infinitive: G 259 *E todos aquellos que contigo fueren non lieven de todo el aver del mundo nada fuera tu si lebares la mi escodilla que levaras contigo*.

The phenomenon is rather OPortuguese-Galician than OLeonese, cf. Staaff 288 and *Elena* p. 82 § 12.

b) Unsyncopated future and conditional forms: G 259 *saliredes*. D 22a *salira* (three times), 52b, 57a. G 266 *avere*. 286^v *averas*. 260 *avera*. D 63b. G 266 *averedes*, 271 (three times), 286. 259 *averan*, 278^v, 296. 253 *averia* (3), 267, 285^v. D 99b *auerian*. D 113b *ponere*, etc.

OLeonese forms, cf. Hanssen, *Gram. hist.* § 261. Cf. for similar future or conditional forms of *salir*: SENperatriz 558, 71. Of *aver*: SENperatriz 509, 39; 513, 22; 519, 84, 85; 537, 49; 548, 4; 551, 30; 556, 22; Rrey Guillelme 186; 188; 189. Of *saber*: SENperatriz 513, 23; 515, 7; Placidas 141; Rrey Guillelme 196. Of *poder*: SENperatriz 513, 10; Placidas 126; Rrey Guillelme 216, etc.¹

c) A future form of the type *habeo cantare*: D 25a *ē me lo as tu mostrar?* (M² 1, 65 *et le nous savoroies tu ensegnier?*)

OLeonese examples in *Alexandre* have been pointed out by Cornu, *Misc. Caix-Canello* 225.

d) *deria* (3) instead of *diria*: G 270 *En como vino la boz del spiritu sancto sobre Josep e su compañía que dixo que escuchasen lo que les deria*.

dere (*deria*) is found in Alex. 130 (*deredes*); FGonzález 201 (*deria* [3]); 472³; Josaphat 343 (*deriades*). OGalician *deria* is attested by

¹ Quoting from Ms. h-I-13, I should not fail to mention OGalician *fazerás* SENperatriz 550, 31.

² = *Merlin*, p.p. G. Paris et J. Ulrich, 1886. 2 v. (SATF).

³ These forms like others in FGonzález are due to a scribe, "natural de la región leónés-portuguesa" (Marden); cf. also Menéndez Pidal, *AnS* 114, 244.

García de Diego, Gram. hist. gall. 138. One OPortuguese instance occurs in Graall¹ 60 (*eu lho deria*²).

12. *oes* instead of *oyes*: D 115b *y en aquella cruz auia letras que dezian*: “*Oyste tu, cauallero, acuerdate, e antes cata de³ otras auenturas, que yo te defiendo que . . .*”

The perfect *oyste* seems illogical in the context; one would expect the present *oyes* = *oyes* ? = *oye*, cf. Mod. Phil. 10, 16.

I have no doubt that O read *Oeste tu*. *öe* (pres. 3) appears in Cant. Maria 2, 288a, 486b, 542a; (imp. sg.) 1, 32b. *oën* 1, 104a. García de Diego, Gram. hist. gall. 119, remarks: “Audis ant. *oes* . . . mod. *ois* . . . Audit ant. *oe* . . . mod. *oi*.” For OLeonese *oe* (pres. 3 and imp. sg.), *oen*, s. ZrP 35, 171. Concerning the ethical dative *te* (OGalician beside *che*), cf. CMichaelis de Vasconcellos, ZrP 19, 534: “Auf Schritt und Tritt braucht der Galizier [den ethischen Dativ], besonders *che* (für *chi* = *tibi*) . . .”⁴ Out of *Oeste tu* a Castilian scribe made *Oyste tu*.

13. Perfect forms and derived forms.

a) Lack of umlaut in weak perfects (3 and 6) and derived forms:

G 252 *rrescebio*, 262. 258 *rrescebieron*. 259^v *rrescebiera*. Cf. SCatalina 232. 237. 264. 281. Rrey Guillelme 203. 240. 242.

G 252 *sofriese*. 253 *sofriera*. 262 *sofrio*. Cf. Placidas 133. 149. 153. SENperatriz 509, 53. 538, 16. 539, 43. 542, 26.

G 252^v *pedio*, 253. Cf. SMaria Eg. 333. SCatalina 309. Rrey Guillelme 204 (*espedieron*).

G 253^v *moriase*, 255^v, 258^v. Cf. SCatalina 264. 291. Placidas 133. Rrey Guillelme 179.

G 254^v *bevio* (= *vixit*).

G 256 *descobrio*. Cf. Rrey Guillelme 229. SENperatriz 515, 79. Rrey Guillelme 198 (*encobrió*). 230. SENperatriz 523, VII, 4.

G 257 *servio*. 259 *servieren*. 260 *servieremos*. 260 *servieron*. Cf. Placidas 139. 144. 145. Rrey Guillelme 197. 237.

¹ = A *Historia dos Cavalleiros da Mesa Redonda e da Demanda do Santo Graall*, veröffentlicht von K. von Reinhardstoettner, 1887.

² Thus the Ms.; the editor reads *diria*.

³ This use of *de* is possibly one of the abuses which Alvarez Gimenez has in mind, cf. Los defectos de lenguaje en Galicia y en la provincia de Leon 64.

⁴ Cf. also 535 n. 1: “Ballesteros wird nicht müde, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass der Stock-Galizier diese Redeweise auch ins Kastilische überträgt, wo sie verpönt ist.” “Verpönt” is going somewhat too far, cf. Hanssen, *Gram. hist.* § 499.

G 259^v *convertio*. Cf. Placidas 124. 126.

b) Lack of umlaut in some strong perfects (6) and derived forms:

G 252 *podiese*, 253^v, 255, 258, 261^v. 255 *podierdes*. 262 *podieron*.¹ Cf. Placidas 126. Rrey Guillelme 173. 195. 233.

G 252^v *posieron*, 258^v, 260^v. 255^v *posiese*. Cf. Placidas 152. Rrey Guillelme 206.

G 257 *estodieran*. 258 *estodiera*. 260^v *estodieron*.

G 260 *andodieron*. Cf. Placidas 142.

G 252 *quesiese*. 254 *quesieron*, 254^v. 255^v *quesierdes*, 257, 258^v, 261^v (and *quesieredes*), 262. 258^v *quesieren*, 259, 260, 260^v. 260 *quesiere*. 260^v *quesieres*. Cf. Placidas 132. 136. Rrey Guillelme 186. 190. 192. 200. 201. 203. 207. 215. 217. 226, etc.

G 252 *veniera*. 259 *venieron*, 262^v. Cf. Placidas 141. 148. 150. 156. Rrey Guillelme 201. 202. 208. 222. 226. 234.

G 253 *feziera*, 253^v, 254, 256^v, 259, 259^v. 253^v *fezieran*. 255^v *fezieron*, 257^v, 258, 259^v, 261. 255^v *feziesen*, 258^v (l. *feziese*). 255^v *feziese*, 257^v, 261^v. Cf. Placidas 123. 134. 135. 138. 144. 145. 150. 151. 152. 155. 156. 157.

Forms cited under a) and b), all taken from the first ten folios of G² and Ms. h-I-13, are OLeonese, cf. Staaff 307.

c) Imperfect and future subjunctives of verbs in *-er* ending in *-ese*, *-era*, *-ere*: G 280^v *yoguera*, 287, 287^v. 286^v *yogueres*. 287^v *yoguese*. D 25b *pluguere*, 329b (see v. 2, 700a). Cf. Florencia 451 *ploger*.

OLeonese, cf. Hanssen, *Gram. hist.* § 245; Staaff 299.

d) *-e* (3) of strong perfects instead of *o*: G 299^v *e desarmol e prise de aquellas armas las mejores*. D 152a *La Tabla Redonda, que se fize por vuestro consejo, e que sera della?*

Cf. Staaff 169, 74 (doc. from Cacabelos, 1294) *sacado el Prior iadito que non uene hy*. SEnperatriz 516, 22 *Mas el diablo . . . nunca le tanto pude³ fazer que . . . Josaphat 336 Entre estas cosas nascea* (l. *nasce a*) *el fijo muy fermoso, en el nasciemiento del qual el*

¹ G 252^v *podiera ver* is to be read *podie aver*.

² Forms with umlaut on the same folios: 256 *sintio* (but *sentieron* 270, etc. *sentio* SCatalina 264 [twice]. *sentieres* 284, etc.). 262 *sufrio* (but *sofrio* twice on the same folio). 256^v *podieron*.

³ Thus the Ms.; Mussafla reads *pudo*. But critical as always he asks in a note: "gibt es andere Beispiele, in denen die 3. Sing. der starken Perfecta das dem ursprünglichen i (*potuit*) näher stehende e aufweisen könnte?"

alegrado mucho pusele nombre Josafat. 355 Ca ninguno de los omnes non pude acabar en ningund tienpo ninguna destas cosas.

The phenomenon is OPortuguese-Galician, cf. Staaff 308 and 344, García de Diego, *Gram. hist. gall.* 127.

e) Weak perfects and derived forms instead of strong: G 262^v *aduzieron. 282^v dezieran . . . dezieron. 287^v dezistes. 300^v dezier.*

Cf. LEnxemplos¹ (Gayangos) 462b *endució*, 475a *redució*. Alvarez Gimenez 52 *conduct*, *conduciste*, etc. SMaria Eg. 339 *bendisio*. Alonso Garrote, El dialecto vulgar leonés hablado en Maragatería y tierra de Astorga 71 *decistes*, *decieron*, etc.

Castilian examples of *aduzieron* do not seem to appear until late, cf. Cuervo, *Apunt. crít.*⁵ § 263, and Cirot, *Bull. hisp.* 13, 89; Castilian examples of *dezieron* are not known to me at all. Consequently I posit the above forms as OLeonese.

Here may belong also G 258^v (Joseph is pleading for Caiaphas) *ca podria ser q̄ el emendaria en su yerro Ꝛ asy se el defazer Ꝛ nõ q̄rria dios q̄ moriese*. I propose to read *sel defazere*,² *non querria Dios . . .*

For *fazí*, s. Josaphat 341 *desfaziose*. Alvarez Gimenez 55 *satisfacimos*, *satisfacisteis*, *satisfacieron*, etc. El tiu Xuan³ 18 *jacieron*; 62 *jaciera*. Nunes, *Dialectos algarvios*, *Rev. lus.* 7, 47 *fazí*, *fazètes*, *fazèũ*, *fazèmos*, *fazèrom*, *fazèsse*, *fazèr*.

Of *-ere* for *-iere* I have spoken under c).

For the sequence of tenses in *defazere . . . querria*, s. Gessner, *ZrP* 14, 64.

Finally for the meaning of *defazere*, s. Dicc. Aut.: "Deshacer un yerro. Phrase que vale emendar ò corregir alguna cosa mal dirigida . . . Quev. Romul. Quieren deshacer un yerro, y hacen mil."

14. *se*, conj., instead of *si*: G 256^v *se*, 258^v, 284^v.

OLeonese, cf. *Elena* p. 83 § 16, Hanssen, *Gram. hist.* § 660.

15. Interpolation. Extremely frequent in G, D, and Ms. h-I-13. A few instances from the first five folios of G will suffice: 252^v *aquel*

¹ By "Clemente Sanches, arcediano de Valderas en la iglesia de Leon" (*Rom.* 7, 484).

² It is possible that O read *defazer*, *e*. The text has many instances both of apocopated forms of the fut. subj. (1 and 3) and of the *e* of the "nachsatz." It is more probable, however, that the scribe, being unfamiliar with the form *defazere*, separated it into the infinitive and the conjunction.

³ "La acción pasa en un caserío del pueblo de Llenin (Cangas de Onís) el año 1877."

que se non llega . . . e porque la non podiera ver (l. podie aver) . . . ante que les su carne e su sangre diese. 253 quando la el ovo guardada. 253^v sy la non viese . . . quel non diesen. 254^v como lo ende saco. 256 quando lo su padre vyo . . . 256^v se le non mostrasen . . . sy lo aquel non sabe. 257 por tal pleyto que me non enforquedes . . . este que lo tanto servyo . . . si lo non sacase bivo . . . aquellos de que se el mas confiava. 257^v tan grand claridat que le nunca fallescio . . . en guysa que la non oviese onbre del mundo . . . ally do la tu posiste en aquel lugar de donde la yo aqui aduxe.

OLeonese, cf. *Elena* p. 84 § 17.

16. *si-non* instead of *si non*: G 268 *non a y si muerte non. D 24b ninguno no podria dezir aquellas palabras si el no (M 1, 65 se il non). (Four lines later: no podía adivinar ninguno la muerte de aquellos sino el [M 1, 65 fors que il].) 78a si Dios no, otre no vos puede guardar de muerte (M 1, 229 fors Dieus). 171b no lo vimos si cubierto no. 176a jamas no tornareys, si por marauilla no. 301a no lo puede (l. puedo) saber si por vos no. 328a no lo sentian si eran mal trechos si poco [no].*

Cf. SMaria Eg. 333 *ella non podia saber su nonbre si por santo spiritu non (si par le seint espirit ne l[e] seust). SCatalina 288 yo non prise de ninguno comer, nin alguno non melo dio sy aquel non que . . . (se cil non qi . . .). 298 Tu puedes conoscer sy al non, commo el Dios de los christianos, que el poder que ha te confonde . . . (se viaus non). Placidas 156 non ha Dios sy él non. Rrey Guillelme 199 otro cauallero non prenderia (1) nin casamiento sy el suyo non (G d'Angleterre 1129 Ainz se leiroit [sc. la dame] bruller ou tondre, Que ja mes an nule meniere . . . Vueille ami ne seignor avoir Se le suen meïsmes ne ra). SENperatriz 557, 55 *Non es verdadero amigo sy Dios non (G de Coinsi [Méon 2] 110, 3475 fors Dieu). 558, 69 non seria (1) yamás mugier nin amiga de ninguno ssy dél non (G de Coinsi 111, 3502 Ne serai mès fame n'amie A roi, n'a prince n'a baron . . . s'à lui non). Josaphat 380 E agora, o padre, por que ençerreste las tus orejas . . . , sy al non, non me defiendas andar por la carrera derecha. 383 fijo, esta sea la postrimera palabra de mi a ti, a la qual sy non obedesçeres man a mano e sy al non en esto el mi coraçon espaçiaras, sabe que . . .**

To the OPortuguese instances given by Espinosa, Matzke

Memorial Vol., 80, I add some OGalician from Crón. Troy.:¹ 2, 6 *Ca nom ueio a quantos som enna hoste rroçoar* (sic) *esto se a uos nom.* (RTroie [Constans] 16948 *fors que vos.*) 18 *et nō podia meter mentes en al. se en esto nō.* 29 *et en outra maneyra nō querē tomar outro camjno. se este nō.* 65 *Ca elles de outra cousa non aujan cura se desta non.* 70 *nen catara por outra cousa se por el non*, etc.

The phenomenon is surely OPortuguese. Whether also OGalician and OLeonese, I dare not say. It is certainly not OCastilian.

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[To be continued]

¹ = *Crónica Troyana*; códice gallego del siglo XIV, publicalo A. Martínez Salazar, 1900. 2 v.